423 612 557 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	6[illegible] ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

• [571]

2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

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/47 cont./

8.	Mingka antu sallang batua alolokintu timboranna pa'rasanganga ri poko taipaja;	But this stone will later move to the south of the country, to the mango tree. /48/
9.	Punna andjoremmondjo batua papparekang tomma' balla', nasalloa' andjoremma' antu lammantang.	When the storm arrives there erect a house for me so that I will be able to live there.
10.	Le'baki appasang allannja' tommi.	When he had said this, he ascended to the sky.

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The story appears to be a short edition of the tomanurung stories familiar all over South Celebes. These are stories concerning people descended from the sky (1). In this case

1. See Friedericy's discussion, pp. 469ff and 506 ff.

the narrator has also given an explanation of the name Besenga in the same story. This combination is customary.

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Now we shall try to give a description of this brief harvest ritual (2).

2. For a description of the essentials of the ritual, see pp. 81, 82.

Around half past twelve in the afternoon, the Pinati thinks that it is time to begin. He sits down under the mango tree next to the stone lying there, with his face turned to the south. About 40 bowls with offerings have been placed on top of this stone and next to it, as close together as possible. All of these contain glutinous rice with a hard-boiled egg pressed into

177 535 838

/156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,

1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

• 171 174 The name of the dance probably betrays the land of origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

171 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are
174 dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 The data given above invite a number of observations.
838 As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

Enggano OD6

Gorontalo OG4
Javanese OE5
Sula OH15
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG4

M S U I 304 ● 171 764 [236 cont.]

Concerning the age at which the teeth are filed, it should be noted that it commonly coincides with the onset of puberty or entering into wedlock. It is also worthy of note that sometimes the teeth are not filed until after the death of the nearest blood-relatives. For instance, this is the case among the Alfoer of the Minahasa, in the Kedoe Residency, in the environs of Benkulen, on the Sula Islands, and on Salayar, which indicates that tooth-filing was once a mourning custom, corresponding to the practice current in Polynesia of breaking out a couple of teeth as an act of mourning when a death occurs.

E T I 304 585

In the Malay Archipelago teeth are not broken out for that purpose, but as a necessary ceremony at the celebration of a marriage. For instance, this is done among the tribes of central Celebes and the people of Enggano. It therefore appears that tooth-filing and the tooth-breaking are parallel; in other words they are identical.

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This is of great importance for an answer to the question of the original significance of the mutilation of teeth; although nowadays most of the peoples of the archipelago file the teeth only for beautification, it seems to me that a deeper meaning lies behind it.

I have just indicated that breaking out the teeth occurs in Polynesia as a mourning custom and is analogous to tooth-filing for the same reason among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago. This custom, however, does not stand alone, but is often linked with other self-mutilations which involve blood-shed, the blood of which should be considered a sacrifice to the dead, whereby, in giving part of the body, in this case blood, the principle pars pro toto is put into practice. The supposition that mutilation of the teeth was originally a similar [237] sacrificial act is, therefore, far from improbable.

I [385 302]

Likewise, breaking the teeth out or filing them on the occasion of marriage must originally have been a sacrificial act whose original religious significance was later lost and it survived only as a social institution analogous to the ritual

library here before the war, and also a library in Bone, but this was no longer the case. Thus few people read. There are no newspapers here, and only a few, for example, the teachers, read papers from Makassar or from places like Java. Very few indeed ever write. (The Minangkabau man said that there are no creative writers here at all, but that in Java and Sumatra there are many. He is probably right.) They do not even write letters here. They did not know that their script came from India originally, and they were surprised when I gave a talk on old Indic script. As for Chinese, they teach their own language to their children and the latter also learn Buginese, as adults do. Nevertheless, Chinese children always have a decided accent. They go mainly to their own school. The Toradja in Tolangi speak Toradja when their relatives visit them, but speak Buginese well in addition.

As for the radio, there are only a few in the area and only radio owners and their families listen to broadcasts. During the Japanese time there was a central loud speaker for propaganda which was set up in the market place at Watumpone. They agreed that if they had one set up now many would listen to it.

As for movies, they say that everyone loves them. Nevertheless, many never go at all, especially the poor and the farmers who live in remote places. Those near Watumpone go a lot. The prices are: f.2 for the first [i.e., best seats--Analyst], f.1 for the second, and f.0.25 for the third. Most people want the latter. Most of the films are from the United States and England. They talk constantly about war films. Later I learned that these are the ones which came out during the war in the United States and which are just now getting into Indonesia. Also I found out later that newsreels which are amazingly old are also shown. It takes years for films to get out here. In addition, they have some very old Malay films, evidently made in Singapore before the war. They had seen many cowboy pictures. Later on the old Sulewatang showed me that he had learned much about the United States from the movies. He was especially impressed by the ice-dancing Sonja Henie films. He could not understand why she did not fall down. Children in particular love movies and Andi said they remember entire stories and tell them over and over again. Later I heard a woman say that her maid thinks movies are wonderful. People here talk about cowboy (accent on the last syllable), chorus girl dancing, etc. Andi said they liked the war films a lot and also the ones with fist fighting.

000 212 204 538 [171] [123] 871 868 207 517 434 546 [857]

M 0665 0521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic[illegible] life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 0871 0178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 0582 0771 0178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 784 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India. 793 838 548 535 [791] 212 171

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example. 181

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc. 795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar. 764 562 178 554 782 796

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They 517 546

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place